

D. STORRS FOX.—*Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

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Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Uoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Oi-Ng'eshor*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,¹ in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (see p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law

Mother-in-law

Son-in-law

Daughter-in-law

} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Oi Marei*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Oi Masai oi not*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyenas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

¹ See p. 200 of this volume.

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, "child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as *masac. ol-ayioni*, "boy," and *fem. en-sito*, "girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nh-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nh-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *en-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nh-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nh-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nh-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *en-akui*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-morno* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-goroyioni* or *en-kitok*; junior wife is *en-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning "giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, "giver (receiver) of a bull" instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-lawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram).

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood.

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover.

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415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretai, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that
is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Other-
wise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
285 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
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III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

- 602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as,
ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts
of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in con-
nection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such
a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.
- 601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship designations; most of them are made up of words for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jējo.

Another wife of the father: ēng afiji e jējo.

Principal wife: e' ŋgoro joni kitok, that is, the great woman,
or en ātero ēng ān, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ŋgoro joni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife,
half brother and half sister from different wives
of the same father.

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[186] The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

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602 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous

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[572] as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night [837] by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they